

Message Text

PAGE 01 LOS AN 00001 01 OF 04 240539Z

12
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 RSC-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

PRS-01 (ISO) W

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Z 240444Z JAN 75 ZFF4
FM USDEL LOS ANGELES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 0001

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 USDEL LOS ANGELES 0001

SECTO 1

EO 11652 N/A
TAGS: OVIP/(KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: A NEW NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP

A HALF-CENTURY AGO WINSTON CHURCHILL, IN HIS BOOK THE WORLD CRISIS, OBSERVED THAT IN HAPPIER TIMES IT WAS THE CUSTOM FOR STATESMEN TO "REJOICE IN THAT PROTECTING PROVIDENCE WHICH HAD PRESERVED US THROUGH SO MANY DANGERS AND BROUGHT US AT LAST INTO A SECURE AND PROSPEROUS AGO". BUT "LITTLE DID THEY KNOW", CHURCHILL WROTE, "THAT THE WORST PERILS HAD STILL TO BE ENCOUNTERED, AND THE GREATEST TRIUMPHS HAD YET TO BE WON."

THE SAME MAY BE SAID OF OUR AGE. WE ARE AT THE END OF THREE DECADES OF A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH ON THE WHOLE BROUGHT PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THE WORLD AND WHICH WAS CONDUCTED BY ADMINISTRATIONS OF BOTH OUR MAJOR PARTIES. INEVITABLY, THERE WERE FAILURES, BUT THEY WERE DWARFED BY THE LONG-TERM ACCOMPLISHMENTS. NOW WE ARE ENTERING A NEW ERA. OLD INTERNATIONAL PATTERNS ARE CRUMBLIN; OLD SLOGANS ARE UNINSTRUCTIVE; OLD SOLUTIONS ARE UNAVAILING. THE WORLD HAS BECOME INTERDEPENDENT IN ECONOMICS, IN COMMUNICATIONS, IN HUMAN ASPIRATIONS. NO ONE NATION, NO ONE PART OF THE WORLD CAN PROSPER OR BE SECURE IN ISOLATION.

FOR AMERICA, INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS IS NO LONGER AN ACT OF CHOICE BUT THE EXPRESSION OF A REALITY. WHEN WEAPONS SPAN
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LOS AN 00001 01 OF 04 240539Z

CONTINENTS IN MINUTES, OUR SECURITY IS BOUND UP WITH WORLD SECURITY. WHEN OUR FACTORIES AND FARMS AND OUR FINANCIAL STRENGTH ARE SO HEAVILY LINKED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, OUR PROSPERITY IS TIED TO WORLD PROSPERITY. THE FIRST TRULY WORLD

CRISIS IS THAT WHICH WE FACE NOW. IT REQUIRES THE FIRST TRULY GLOBAL SOLUTIONS.

THE WORLD STANDS UNEASILY POISED BETWEEN UNPRECEDENTED CHAOS AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR UNPARALLELED CREATIVITY. THE NEXT FEW YEARS WILL DETERMINE WHETHER INTERDEPENDENCE WILL FOSTER COMMON PROGRESS OR COMMON DISASTER. ONE GENERATION HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHAPE A NEW COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM; IF WE FAIL TO ACT WITH VISION WE WILL CONDEMN OURSELVES TO MOUNTING DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CRISES.

HAD WE A CHOICE, AMERICA WOULD NOT HAVE SELECTED THIS MOMENT TO BE SO CHALLENGED. WE HAVE ENDURED ENOUGH IN THE PAST DECADE TO HAVE EARNED A RESPITE: ASSASSINATIONS, RACIAL AND GENERATIONAL TURBULENCE, A DIVISIVE WAR, THE FALL OF ONE PRESIDENT AND THE RESIGNATION OF ANOTHER. NOR ARE THE OTHER GREAT DEMOCRACIES BETTER PREPARED. ADJUSTING TO A LOSS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE, ASSAILED BY RECESSION AND INFLATION, THEY TOO FEEL THEIR DOMESTIC BURDENS WEIGHING DOWN THEIR CAPACITY TO ACT BOLDLY.

BUT NO NATION CAN CHOOSE THE TIMING OF ITS FATE. THE TIDES OF HISTORY TAKE NO ACCOUNT OF THE FATIGUE OF THE HELMSMAN. POSTERITY WILL REWARD, NOT THE DIFFICULTY OF THE CHALLENGE, ONLY THE ADEQUACY OF THE RESPONSE.

THIRTY YEARS AGO AMERICA, AFTER CENTURIES OF ISOLATION, FOUND WITHIN ITSELF UNIMAGINED CAPACITIES OF STATESMANSHIP AND CREATIVITY. MEN OF BOTH PARTIES AND MANY PERSUASIONS -- LIKE TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER, VANDENBERG AND MARSHALL, ACHESON AND DULLES, -- BUILT A NATIONAL CONSENSUS FOR RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD.

THEIR WORK HELPED FASHION THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF EUROPE AND JAPAN AND STABILIZED THE POSTWAR WORLD IN A PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION. THESE WERE THE INDISPENSABLE FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH, IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REGULARIZE RELATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES AND CHART NEW DIMENSIONS OF COOPERATION

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LOS AN 00001 01 OF 04 240539Z

WITH OUR ALLIES.

FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESENT SITUATION IS LACED WITH IRONY. A DECADE OF UPHEAVAL HAS TAUGHT US THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR POWER. EXPERIENCE AND MATURITY HAVE DISPELLED ANY ILLUSION THAT WE COULD SHAPE EVENTS AS WE PLEASED. LONG AFTER OTHER NATIONS, WE HAVE ACQUIRED A SENSE OF TRAGEDY. YET AT THE SAME TIME, OUR PEOPLE AND OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE EMERGED FROM THEIR TRIALS WITH A RESILIENCE THAT IS THE ENVY OF OTHER NATIONS, WHO KNOW -- EVEN WHEN WE FORGET -- THAT AMERICA'S STRENGTH IS UNIQUE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP INDISPENSIBLE. IN THE FACE OF ALL VICISSITUDES OUR NATION CONTINUES TO BE THE STANDARDBEARER OF POLITICAL FREEDOM, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND HUMAN-

ITARIAN CONCERN -- AS IT HAS FOR 200 YEARS.

TO MARSHALL OUR ENERGIES FOR OUR CURRENT CHALLENGE OF INTERDEPENDENCE MEANS A RETURN TO FUNDAMENTALS. IT WAS A CONFIDENT - PERHAPS EVEN BRASH - AMERICA THAT LAUNCHED ITS POSTWAR LABORS. IT WAS AN AMERICA ESSENTIALLY UNITED ON ULTIMATE GOALS THAT TOOK ON THE TASK OF RESTORING ORDER FROM THE CHAOS OF WAR. TWO DECADES OF GLOBAL EXERTIONS AND THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAVE GRAVELY WEAKENED THIS COMMON SENSE OF PURPOSE. WE HAVE NO MORE URGENT TASK THAN TO REDISCOVER OUR NATIONAL CONSENSUS. ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN WE GIVE EFFECT TO THE ROOT REALITY OF OUR AGE WHICH PRESIDENT FORD DESCRIBED IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS. "AT NO TIME IN OUR PEACETIME HISTORY HAS THE STATE OF THE NATION DEPENDED MORE HEAVILY ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD. AND SELDOM, IF EVER, HAS THE STATE OF THE WORLD DEPENDED MORE HEAVILY ON THE STATE OF OUR NATION."

LET ME TURN, THEN, TO AN EXAMINATION OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: OUR TRADITIONAL AGENDA, THE NEW ISSUES OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE NEED FOR A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA OF PEACE AND WAR

THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES OF PEACE AND WAR ADDRESSED BY THE POSTWAR GENERATION WILL REQUIRE OUR CONTINUING EFFORT, FOR WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF POLITICAL TURMOIL AND PROLIFERATING NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LOS AN 00001 01 OF 04 240539Z

OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS BUILT UPON THE BEDROCK OF SOLIDARITY WITH OUR ALLIES. GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, ECONOMIC TIES, SHARED HERITAGE AND COMMON POLITICAL VALUES BIND US CLOSELY TOGETHER. THE STABILITY OF THE POSTWAR WORLD -- AND OUR RECENT PROGRESS IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES -- HAVE CRUCIALLY DEPENDED ON THE STRENGTH AND CONSTANCY OF OUR ALLIANCES. TODAY, IN A NEW ERA OF CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY, WE NATURALLY TURN FIRST TO OUR FRIENDS TO SEEK COOPERATIVE SOLUTIONS TO NEW GLOBAL ISSUES SUCH AS ENERGY. THIS IS WHY WE HAVE SOUGHT TO STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH OUR ATLANTIC PARTNERS AND JAPAN AND HAVE BEGUN A NEW DIALOGUE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE SECOND MAJOR TRADITIONAL EFFORT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN TO FASHION MORE STABLE RELATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES.

THERE CAN BE NO PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER WITHOUT A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION -- THE TWO NATIONS WITH THE POWER TO DESTROY MANKIND.

THE MORAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS CANNOT BE IGNORED; IT IS AT THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN REDUCING TENSIONS AND IN BEGINNING TO LAY THE BASIS FOR A MORE

CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP. THE AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS, THE BERLIN AGREEMENT, THE SIGNIFICANT EASING OF TENSIONS ACROSS THE HEART OF EUROPE, THE GROWING NETWORK OF COOPERATIVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- THESE MARK AN UNDENIABLE IMPROVEMENT OVER THE SITUATION JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.

THE RECENT VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD ENVISAGES ANOTHER AGREEMENT PLACING A LONG-TERM CEILING ON THE PRINCIPAL STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF BOTH SIDES. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, THE STRATEGIC PLANNING OF EACH SIDE WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF STABLE AND THEREFORE MORE REASSURING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE PROGRAMS OF THE OTHER SIDE INSTEAD OF BEING DRIVEN BY FEAR OR SELF-FULFILLING PROJECTIONS. THE STAGE WILL BE SET FOR NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT REDUCING THE STRATEGIC ARSENALS OF BOTH SIDES. WE SHALL TURN TO THAT TASK AS SOON AS WE HAVE TRANSFORMED THE VLADIVOSTOK PRINCIPLES INTO A COMPLETED AGREEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LOS AN 00001 02 OF 04 241842Z

43/13

ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 RSC-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 ISO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-05

PRS-01 (ISO) W

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FM USDEL LOS ANGELES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 002

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 4 SECTIONS USDEL LOS ANGELES 00001

SECTO 1

THE COURSE OF IMPROVING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WILL NOT ALWAYS BE EASY, AS THE RECENT SOVIET REJECTION OF OUR TRADE LEGISLATION HAS DEMONSTRATED. BUT IT MUST, NEVERTHELESS, BE PURSUED WITH CONVICTION DESPITE DISAPPOINTMENTS AND OBSTACLES, FOR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

JUST AS WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT A STABLE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT DEMANDS A MORE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION, SO WE HAVE SEEN THAT THERE CAN BE NO REAL ASSURANCE OF A WORLD AT PEACE SO LONG AS ONE-QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE FAMILY OF NATIONS. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, ENDED A GENERATION OF ESTRANGEMENT AND CONFRONTATION WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND SOUGHT TO DEVELOP A NEW RELATIONSHIP IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. PROGRESS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HAS OPENED USEFUL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AND REDUCED REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TENSIONS. OUR NEW

AND GROWING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
IS NOW AN ACCEPTED AND ENDURING FEATURE OF THE WORLD SCENE.

A THIRD TRADITIONAL ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN
THE EFFORT TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS WITHOUT WAR. IN A WORLD OF 150
NATIONS, MANY CHRONIC DISPUTES AND TENSIONS CONTINUE TO SPAWN
HUMAN SUFFERING AND DANGERS TO PEACE. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN
AMERICA'S POLICY TO OFFER OUR HELP TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT,
AND TO SEPARATE LOCAL DISPUTES FROM BIG-POWER RIVALRY. IN THE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LOS AN 00001 02 OF 04 241842Z

MIDDLE EAST, IN CYPRUS, IN INDO-CHINA, IN SOUTH ASIA, ON URGENT
MULTILATERAL ISSUES SUCH AS NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE UNITED
STATES STANDS READY TO SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THE NEW AGENDA OF INTERDEPENDENCE

PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH OUR TRADITIONAL AGENDA IS NO LONGER
ENOUGH. A NEW AND UNPREDENTED KIND OF ISSUE HAS EMERGED ON THE
INTERNATIONAL AGENDA. THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY, RESOURCES,
ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION, THE USES OF SPACE AND THE SEAS, NOW
RANK WITH THE QUESTIONS OF MILITARY SECURITY, IDEOLOGY AND
TERRITORIAL RIVALRY WHICH HAVE TRADITIONALLY MADE UP THE
DIPLOMATIC AGENDA. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US HAS
ENABLED US TO PERCEIVE THAT WE ARE ENTERING -- OR HAVE ENTERED --
A NEW ERA.

WITH HINDSIGHT, THERE IS LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN IDENTIFYING
THE MOMENTS IN HISTORY WHEN HUMANITY BROKE FROM OLD WAYS AND
MOVED IN A NEW DIRECTION. BUT FOR THOSE LIVING THROUGH SUCH
TIMES IT IS USUALLY DIFFICULT TO SEE EVENTS AS MORE THAN A
SERIES OF UNRELATED CRISES. HOW OFTEN HAS MAN BEEN ABLE TO
PERCEIVE THE ULTIMATE SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS OCCURING DURING HIS
LIFETIME? HOW MANY TIMES HAS HE BEEN ABLE TO SUMMON THE WILL
TO SHAPE, RATHER THAN SUBMIT, TO DESTINY?

THE NUCLEAR AGE PERMANENTLY CHANGED AMERICA'S CONVICTION THAT
OUR SECURITY WAS ASSURED BEHIND TWO BROAD OCEANS. NOW THE CRISES
OF ENERGY AND FOOD FORESHADOW AN EQUALLY DRAMATIC RECOGNITION
THAT THE VERY BASIS OF AMERICA'S STRENGTH--ITS
ECONOMIC VITALITY--IS INEXTRICABLY TIED TO THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC
WELL BEING.

URGENT ISSUES ILLUSTRATE THE REALITY OF INTERDEPENDENCE:

--THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS BUILT A GENERATION OF PROSPERITY ON
IMPORTED FUEL AT SUSTAINABLE PRICES. NOW WE CONFRONT A CARTEL
THAT CAN MANIPULATE THE SUPPLY AND PRICE OF OIL ALMOST AT WILL,
THREATENING JOBS, OUTPUT AND STABILITY.

--WE AND A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE ACHIEVED IMMENSE
PRODUCTIVITY IN AGRICULTURE. NOW WE SEE THE SURVIVAL AND WELL-

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LOS AN 00001 02 OF 04 241842Z

BEING OF MUCH OF HUMANITY THREATENED BECAUSE WORLD FOOD PRODUCTION HAS NOT KEPT PACE WITH POPULATION GROWTH.

--FOR THIRTY YEARS WE AND THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES ACHIEVED STEADY ECONOMIC GROWTH. NOW THE ECONOMIES OF ALL INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY AFFLICTED BY INFLATION AND RECESSION, AND NO NATION CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM ALONE.

YET THE INTERDEPENDENCE THAT EARLIER FOSTERED OUR PROSPERITY AND NOW THREATENS OUR DECLINE CAN USHER IN A NEW PERIOD OF PROGRESS IF WE PERCEIVE OUR COMMON INTEREST AND ACT BOLDLY TO SERVE IT. IT REQUIRES A NEW LEVEL OF POLITICAL WISDOM, AN NEW STANDARD OF RESPONSIBILITY, AND A NEW VIGOR OF DIPLOMACY.

CLEARLY, THE ENERGY CRISIS IS THE MOST PRESSING ISSUE ON THE NEW AGENDA. IN THE AMERICAN VIEW, A PERMANENT SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

THE FIRST IMPERATIVE IS SOLIDARITY AMONG THE MAJOR CONSUMERS. ALONE, NO CONSUMING COUNTRY, EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE UNITED STATES, CAN DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST AN OIL EMBARGO OR A WITHDRAWAL OF OIL MONEY. ALONE, NO COUNTRY EXCEPT PERHAPS THE UNITED STATES CAN INVEST ENOUGH TO DEVELOP NEW ENERGY SOURCES FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY. BUT IF THE UNITED STATES ACTED ALONE IT WOULD DOOM THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS TO ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND POLITICAL WEAKNESS; THIS WOULD SOON UNDERMINE OUR OWN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING. ONLY BY COLLECTIVE ACTION CAN THE CONSUMING COUNTRIES FREE THEIR ECONOMIES FROM EXCESSIVE DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED OIL AND THEIR POLITICAL LIFE FROM CONSTANT INSECURITY.

WE HAVE MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS SINCE THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE MET LESS THAN A YEAR AGO. LAST NOVEMBER, THE UNITED STATES AND 15 OTHER COUNTRIES SIGNED AN UNPRECEDENTED AGREEMENT TO ASSIST EACH OTHER IN THE EVENT OF A NEW OIL EMERGENCY. THAT AGREEMENT COMMITS EACH NATION TO BUILD AN EMERGENCY STOCK OF OIL; IN CASE OF A NEW EMBARGO, EACH WILL CUT ITS CONSUMPTION BY THE SAME PERCENTAGE, AND AVAILABLE OIL WILL BE SHARED. THUS, SELECTIVE PRESSURE WOULD BE BLUNTED AND AN EMBARGO AGAINST ONE WOULD BE AN EMBARGO AGAINST ALL.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LOS AN 00001 02 OF 04 241842Z

EQUALLY IMPORTANT WE HAVE MOVED DRAMATICALLY TOWARD FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY. ONLY LAST WEEK, THE MAJOR CONSUMING NATIONS AGREED TO CREATE A SOLIDARITY FUND OF DOLS 25 BILLION - LESS THAN TWO MONTHS AFTER IT WAS FIRST PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES. THROUGH THE CREATION OF THIS FUND, THE INDUSTRIAL

NATIONS HAVE GAINED SIGNIFICANT PROTECTION AGAINST SHIFTS, WITHDRAWALS, OR CUTOFFS OF FUNDS FROM THE PETRODOLLAR EARNERS. THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES WILL NOW BE ABLE TO OFFSET FINANCIAL SHIFTS OF OIL PRODUCER FUNDS BY LOANS TO EACH OTHER FROM THE DOLS 25 BILLION MUTUAL INSURANCE FUNDS. WE CONSIDER THIS RAPID AND DECISIVE DECISION FOR THE CREATION OF THE SOLIDARITY FUND TO BE OF THE GREATEST POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE.

THE SECOND IMPERATIVE IS A MAJOR REDUCTION IN CONSUMER DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED OIL.

THE SAFETY NETS OF SHARING AND FINANCIAL GUARANTEES ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE SHORT TERM. BUT OUR LONG-TERM SECURITY REQUIRES A DETERMINED AND CONCERTED EFFORT TO REDUCE ENERGY CONSUMPTION--ON THE HIGHWAYS AND IN OUR HOMES, IN THE VERY STYLE OF OUR LIVES. EQUALLY IMPORTANT WILL BE A SPEED-UP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES, SUCH AS NUCLEAR POWER, COAL, OIL SHALE, THE OIL OF THE OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF, ALASKA, THE NORTH SEA, AND ELSEWHERE.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LOS AN 00001 03 OF 04 240703Z

11
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 RSC-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

PRS-01 (ISO) W

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Z 240444Z JAN 75 ZFF4
FM USDEL LOS ANGELES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 0003

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 4 USDEL LOS ANGELES 0001

SECTO 1

COOPERATIVE ACTION AMONG THE CONSUMER NATIONS WILL REINFORCE OUR OWN EFFORTS IN THIS COUNTRY. THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY, CREATED LAST YEAR, AND OTHER COUNTRIES ACTING IN PARALLEL WITH IT, SUCH AS FRANCE, ARE RESPONDING TO THE CRISIS WITH SUBSTANTIAL CONSERVATION PROGRAMS OF THEIR OWN. AND THE UNITED STATES WILL SHORTLY PROPOSE TO THE IEA A LARGE-SCALE COLLECTIVE PROGRAM TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES THROUGH PRICE AND OTHER INCENTIVES TO INVESTORS AND THROUGH JOINT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

SUCH POLICIES WILL BE COSTLY, COMPLEX -- AND SOME OF THEM UNPLEASANT. BUT WE FACE A CHOICE: EITHER WE ACT NOW, AND DECISIVELY, TO ENSURE NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ENERGY

BY 1985, OR WE REMAIN PREY TO ECONOMIC DISRUPTION AND TO THE IMPAIRMENT OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

THIS, BLUNTLY, IS THE MEANING OF PRESIDENT FORD'S ENERGY PROGRAM WHICH HE LAID BEFORE THE CONGRESS IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE.

THE THIRD IMPERATIVE IS AN EVENTUAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS.

ULTIMATELY THE ENERGY PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED THROUGH COOPERATION BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS. THE UNITED UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LOS AN 00001 03 OF 04 240703Z

STATES, AS A MATTER OF EVIDENT NECESSITY, SEEKS SUCH A DIALOGUE IN A SPIRIT OF GOODWILL AND OF CONCILIATION. BUT JUST AS THE PRODUCERS ARE FREE TO CONCERT AND DISCUSS AMONG THEMSELVES, SO TOO ARE THE CONSUMERS.

A PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF CONSUMER COOPERATION WILL BE TO PREPARE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS FOR A PRODUCER DIALOGUE TO ENSURE THAT IT WILL BE FRUITFUL. THE CONSUMERS SHOULD NEITHER PETITION NOR THREATEN. THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES OF INTERDEPENDENCE: ASSURED SUPPLIES, A FAIR RETURN TO THE PRODUCERS OF A DEPLETING RESOURCE, SECURITY OF INVESTMENT, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OIL AND THE STATE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. OVER THE LONG TERM, PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS, DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS, ALL DEPEND ON THE SAME GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM FOR THE REALIZATION OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS. IT IS THIS SYSTEM WHICH IS NOW IN JEOPARDY SO ALL NATIONS ARE THREATENED. WE MUST -- TOGETHER -- AND IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT -- RESTORE THE VITALITY OF THE WORLD ECONOMY IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL MANKIND.

THOUGH WE ARE FAR FROM HAVING OVERCOME THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE OUTLINES OF A SOLUTION ARE DISCERNIBLE. THE RIGHT COURSE IS CLEAR, PROGRESS IS BEING MADE, AND SUCCESS IS WELL WITHIN OUR CAPACITY. INDEED THE ENERGY CRISIS WHICH ACCELERATED THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES CAN, IF THEY ARE WISE, BECOME THE VEHICLE BY WHICH THEY RECLAIM CONTROL OVER THEIR FUTURE AND SHAPE A MORE COOPERATIVE WORLD.

WHILE THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD CALLS FOR A SENSE OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY FROM THE PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS, IT HAS AN OBLIGATION TO DEMONSTRATE A SIMILAR SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO ITS OWN SURPLUS COMMODITIES.

NOWHERE IS THIS MORE URGENT THAN IN THE CASE OF FOOD. A HANDFUL OF COUNTRIES, LED BY THE UNITED STATES, PRODUCE MOST OF THE WORLD'S SURPLUS FOOD. MEANWHILE IN OTHER PARTS

OF THE GLOBE, HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS DO NOT EAT ENOUGH FOR DECENT AND PRODUCTIVE LIVES. IN MANY AREAS, 30 PERCENT TO 50 PERCENT OF THE CHILDREN DIE BEFORE THE AGE OF FIVE, MILLIONS OF THEM FROM MALNUTRITION. AND ACCORDING TO PRESENT PROJECTIONS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LOS AN 00001 03 OF 04 240703Z

THE WORLD'S FOOD DEFICIT COULD RISE FROM THE CURRENT 25 MILLION TONS TO 85 MILLION TONS BY 1985.

THE CURRENT SITUATION, AND THE EVEN MORE FOREBODING FUTURE, IS INCONSISTENT WITH INTERNATIONAL STABILITY, DISRUPTIVE OF COOPERATIVE GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS AND TOTALLY REPUGNANT TO OUR MORAL VALUES.

FOR THESE REASONS THE UNITED STATES CALLED FOR THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE WHICH MET IN ROME LAST NOVEMBER. IT WAS CLEAR TO US -- AS WE EMPHASIZED AT THE CONFERENCE -- THAT NO ONE NATION COULD POSSIBLY PRODUCE ENOUGH TO MAKE UP THE WORLD'S FOOD DEFICIT AND THAT A COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT WAS REQUIRED:

--TO EXPAND FOOD PRODUCTION IN EXPORTING COUNTRIES AND TO COORDINATE THEIR AGRICULTURAL POLICIES SO THAT THEIR CAPACITY IS USED FULLY AND WELL.

--TO EXPAND MASSIVELY FOOD PRODUCTION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES;

--TO DEVELOP BETTER MEANS OF FOOD DISTRIBUTION AND FINANCING;

--TO IMPROVE NOT JUST THE QUANTITY BUT ALSO THE QUALITY OF FOOD WHICH THE POOREST AND MOST VULNERABLE GROUPS RECEIVE.

--TO ENSURE AGAINST EMERGENCIES THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF GLOBAL FOOD RESERVES;

--TO AUGMENT THE FOOD AID OF THE U.S. AND OTHER SURPLUS COUNTRIES UNTIL FOOD PRODUCTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES INCREASES.

IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE FURTHER PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROGRAM AND WE WILL SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE OUR OWN FOOD ASSISTANCE. HOWEVER, FOOD AID IS ESSENTIALLY AN EMERGENCY MEASURE. THERE IS NO CHANCE OF MEETING AN 85 MILLION TON DEFICIT WITHOUT THE RAPID APPLICATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL TO THE EXPANSION OF FOOD PRODUCTION WHERE IT IS MOST NEEDED, IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. OTHER SURPLUS PRODUCERS, THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS AND THE OIL PRODUCERS MUST JOIN IN THIS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LOS AN 00001 03 OF 04 240703Z

ENTERPRISE.

ENERGY AND FOOD ARE ONLY TWO OF THE MOST URGENT ISSUES. AT STAKE IS A RESTRUCTURING OF THE WORLD ECONOMY -- IN COMMODITIES, TRADE, MONETARY RELATIONS AND INVESTMENT. POLITICALLY, IF WE SUCCEED, IT MEANS THE SHAPING OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER. FOR THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, IT MEANS REGAINING OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH AND THE SENSE THAT OUR FUTURE IS IN OUR OWN HANDS; FOR THE PRODUCING AND DEVELOPING NATIONS IT MEANS A STABLE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP THAT CAN ENSURE MUTUAL PROGRESS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE CENTURY.

NEED FOR NATIONAL UNITY

THE AGENDA OF WAR AND PEACE, FUEL AND FOOD PLACES A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY UPON AMERICA. THE URGENCY OF OUR CHALLENGES, THE MAGNITUDE OF THE EFFORT REQUIRED, AND THE IMPACT WHICH OUR ACTIONS WILL HAVE ON OUR ENTIRE SOCIETY -- ALL REQUIRE AN EXCEPTIONAL DEGREE OF PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND THE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT OF CONGRESS.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVE WHEN IT REFLECTED BROAD NON-PARTISAN SUPPORT. CLOSE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES ENSURED THE SUCCESS OF THE HISTORIC POSTWAR AMERICAN INITIATIVES AND SUSTAINED OUR FOREIGN POLICY FOR TWO DECADES THEREAFTER. MORE RECENTLY, DURING THE HARROWING TIME OF WATERGATE, THE SPIRIT OF RESPONSIBLE BIPARTISANSHIP INSULATED OUR FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE TRAUMA OF DOMESTIC IN-

STITUTIONAL CRISIS. FOR THIS, THE NATION OWES THE CONGRESS A PROFOUND DEBT OF GRATITUDE.

A SPIRIT OF NON-PARTISAN COOPERATION IS EVEN MORE ESSENTIAL TODAY. THE BITTERNESS THAT HAS MARKED SO MUCH OF OUR NATIONAL DIALOGUE FOR OVER A DECADE NO LONGER HAS REASON OR PLACE. PUBLIC DEBATE ONCE AGAIN MUST FIND ITS ULTIMATE LIMIT IN A GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE AND THAT -- NO MATTER WHAT OUR DIFFERENCES -- WE ALL SEEK THE BEST FOR OUR NATION AND THE WORLD.

TO APPEAL FOR RENEWED NONPARTISAN COOPERATION IN FOREIGN POLICY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 LOS AN 00001 03 OF 04 240703Z

REFLECTS NOT A PREFERENCE BUT A NATIONAL NECESSITY. FOREIGN NATIONS MUST DEAL WITH OUR GOVERNMENT AS AN ENTITY, NOT AS A COMPLEX OF DIVIDED INSTITUTIONS. THEY MUST BE ABLE TO COUNT ON OUR MAINTAINING BOTH OUR NATIONAL WILL AND OUR SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS. IF THEY MISJUDGE EITHER, THEY MAY BE TEMPTED INTO IRRESPONSIBILITY OR GROW RELUCTANT TO LINK THEIR DESTINY TO OURS. IF OUR DIVISIONS LEAD TO A FAILURE OF POLICY, IT IS THE COUNTRY WHICH WILL SUFFER, NOT ONE GROUP OR ONE PARTY OR ONE ADMINISTRATION. IF OUR COOPERATION PROMOTES SUCCESS IT IS THE NATION WHICH WILL BENEFIT, NOT LIBERALS OR CONSERVATIVES, BUT ALL OUR PEOPLE.

IN HIS FIRST ADDRESS TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT FORD PLEDGED
HIS ADMINISTRATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNICATION, CONCILIATION,
COMPROMISE AND COOPERATION. IN THAT SPIRIT, AND ON BEHALF OF THE
PRESIDENT, I INVITE THE CONGRESS TO A NEW NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP
IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

HOW CAN CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BEST DEVELOP A PRODUCTIVE
COOPERATION FOR THE SAKE OF OUR COUNTRY AND WORLD PEACE?
HOW CAN WE JOINTLY DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE NATIONAL POLICY AND
PURPOSEFUL AMERICAN WORLD LEADERSHIP? JUST AS THE TIMES DEMAND
NEW CONCEPTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY, SO WE MUST DEFINE NEW
PRINCIPLES OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS -- PRINCIPLES WHICH
TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE UNMISTAKABLE CLAIMS OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPER-
VISION AND THE URGENT REQUIREMENTS OF EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY.

THE ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MEET CONGRESSIONAL
CONCERNS. WE WILL DEDICATE OURSELVES TO STRENGTHENING THE MUTUAL
SENSE OF TRUST WITH THE CONGRESS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LOS AN 00001 04 OF 04 240804Z

12
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SSO-00 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

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UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 4 USDEL LOS ANGES 00001

SECTO 1

WE DO NOT ASK FOR A BLANK CHECK. WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE VIEW THAT OVER
THE PAST DECADE THERE OFTEN HAS BEEN A BREAKDOWN OF COMMUNICATIONS
BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES. WE HAVE MADE
MAJOR EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH THIS LINK. AS SECRETARY OF STATE,
CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE,
I HAVE CONSIDERED THIS A PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MY OFFICE.
THEREFORE, LESS THAN 16 MONTHS IN OFFICE I HAVE TESTIFIED 38 TIMES
BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND HAVE CONSULTED EVEN MORE FREQ-
UENTLY WITH INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS AND GROUPS. THE TIMES DEMAND THAT
THIS EFFORT BE INTENSIFIED.

SPECIFICALLY, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL STRIVE TO EVOKE THE ADVICE AND
CONSENT OF THE CONGRESS IN ITS BROADEST SENSE. WE KNOW THAT
CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT PRESUPPOSES

THAT BOTH HOUSES ARE KEPT INFORMED OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PREMISES AND PURPOSES AS WELL AS OF THE FACTS ON WHICH ITS DECISIONS ARE BASED. IN THE PROCESS, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL SEEK THE VIEWS OF AS MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CONCERNED WITH A PARTICULAR ISSUE AS POSSIBLE. IN SHORT, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO SUPPORT THE EFFORT OF THE CONGRESS TO MEET ITS CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS WITH WISDOM AND IMAGINATION.

BEYOND THE GENERAL REQUIREMENT OF ADVICE AND CONSENT, THE ROLE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LOS AN 00001 04 OF 04 240804Z

OF LEGISLATION AND APPROPRIATIONS IN DEFINING THE BASIC DIRECTIONS OF POLICY IS TRADITIONAL. THE ADMINISTRATION MAY DISAGREE WITH A PARTICULAR DECISION; WE MAY ARGUE VIGOROUSLY FOR A DIFFERENT COURSE, AS WE HAVE FOR EXAMPLE, CONCERNING THE NECESSITY OF ADEQUATE AID TO SUPPORT THE SELFDEFENSE OF ALLIES IN INDOCHINA. BUT WE FAVOR THE INDISPENSABLE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGRESS TO THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF NATIONAL POLICY.

AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS -- DELIBERATION, DEBATE AND STATUTORY LAW -- IS MUCH LESS WELL-SUITED TO THE DETAILED SUPERVISION OF THE DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY. LEGAL PRESCRIPTIONS, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, LOSE SIGHT OF THE SENSE OF NUANCE AND THE FEELING FOR THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF ISSUES ON WHICH FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS OR SO OFTEN DEPENDS. THIS IS WHY THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS HAS ALWAYS BEEN PREEMINENTLY AN EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY THOUGH THE NATIONAL COMMITMENTS WHICH A COMPLETED AGREEMENT ENTAILS MUST NECESSARILY HAVE LEGISLATIVE AND PUBLIC SUPPORT.

THE GROWING TENDENCY OF THE CONGRESS TO LEGISLATE IN DETAIL THE DAY-TO-DAY, OR WEEK-TO-WEEK, CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RAISES GRAVE ISSUES. AMERICAN POLICY -- GIVEN THE WIDE RANGE OF OUR INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES -- MUST BE A COHERENT AND PURPOSEFUL WHOLE. THE WAY WE ACT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ONE COUNTRY ALMOST INEVITABLY AFFECTS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS. TO SINGLE OUT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES FOR SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE ATTENTION HAS UNINTENDED BUT INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES AND RISKS UNRAVELLING THE ENTIRE FABRIC OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

PARADOXICALLY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS SHARE THE SAME IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES ON MOST OF THE ISSUES AND HAVE RECENTLY BECOME SOURCES OF DISPUTE. TOO OFTEN, THE RESULT HAS BEEN TO DEFEAT THE VERY PURPOSES THAT BOTH BRANCHES MEANT TO SERVE. OUR INABILITY, FOR EXAMPLE, TO IMPLEMENT THE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS A CASE IN POINT; ANOTHER IS

THE IMPACT OF RESTRICTIONS ON AID TO TURKEY ON OUR EFFORTS BOTH TO ADVANCE THE CYPRUS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO SAFEGUARD OUR WIDER SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN;

YET ANOTHER IS THE DAMAGE TO OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE RELATIONS,
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LOS AN 00001 04 OF 04 240804Z

SPECIFICALLY IN ECUADOR AND VENEZUELA, CAUSED BY AN AMENDMENT
DESIGNED TO WITHHOLD SPECIAL TARIFF PREFERENCES FROM OPEC COUNTRIES.
IN EACH CASE, THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS AGREED ABOUT THE
ULTIMATE GOAL BUT THE DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH LED TO SANCTIONS
WHICH WERE TOO PUBLIC OR TOO DRASTIC OR TOO UNDISCRIMINATING
AND HENCE TURNED OUT TO BE SELF-DEFEATING.

IN FAIRNESS IT MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT MANY CONGRESSMEN AND
SENATORS ARE SUBJECTED TO SPECIAL PRESSURES IN THEIR DISTRICTS
AND STATES. AND ALL REFLECT AN ELECTORATE IMPATIENCE WITH
FOREIGN TURMOIL AND INSISTENT THAT INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES
BE SHARED MORE EQUITABLY. IN A PERIOD OF DOMESTIC
RECESSION, THE CASE FOR FOREIGN AID BECOMES INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT
TO MAKE AT THE PRECISE MOMENT WHEN THE REALITY OF INTERDEPENDENCE
LINKS OUR DESTINY EVER MORE CLOSELY WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.

IT IS THEREFORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT ONE OF THE ISSUES ON WHICH
THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH HAVE RECENTLY DIVIDED
IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH FOREIGN AID CUT-OFFS -- MILITARY OR ECONOMIC
-- CAN BE USED TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE POLICIES OF OTHER
NATIONS. WHETHER FOREIGN AID SHOULD BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF
PRESSURE DEPENDS ON THE WAY FOREIGN AID IS CONCEIVED. THE
ADMINISTRATION IS CONVINCED THAT FOREIGN AID TO BE VIABLE MUST
SERVE AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS ABOVE ALL, INCLUDING THE BROAD
INTEREST WE HAVE IN A STABLE WORLD. IF AN IMPORTANT AMERICAN
INTEREST IS SERVICED BY THE AID RELATIONSHIP, IT IS WISE
INVESTMENT; IF NOT, OUR RESOURCES ARE BEING SQUANDERED, EVEN IF
WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE RECIPIENT. FOR
MORAL AND PRACTICAL REASONS, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT A CHALLENGE
TO THE RECIPIENT'S SOVEREIGNTY FORCES REACTIONS THAT FAR
TRANSCEND MOST OF THE ISSUES IN DISPUT. INSTEAD OF INFLUENCING
CONDUCT IN WAYS WE DESIRE, CUTTING AID IS LIKELY TO HARDEN
POSITIONS. THE VERY LEVERAGE WE NEED IS ALMOST ALWAYS LOST.
OUR BILATERAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP IS IMPAIRED, USUALLY FOR
NO COMMENSURABLE BENEFIT. AND OTHER FRIENDS AND ALLIES BEGIN
TO QUESTION WHETHER WE UNDERSTAND OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST AND
WHETHER WE CAN BE A RELIABLE, LONGER-TERM PARTNER.

THESE ISSUES HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH THE AGE-OLD TENSION BETWEEN
MORALITY AND EXPEDIENCY. FOREIGN POLICY, BY ITS NATURE, MUST
COMBINE A DESIRE TO ACHIEVE THE IDEAL WITH A RECOGNITION OF WHAT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LOS AN 00001 04 OF 04 240804Z

IS PRACTICAL. THE FACT OF SOVEREIGNTY IMPLIES COMPROMISE AND
EACH COMPROMISE INVOLVES AN ELEMENT OF PRAGMATISM. ON THE OTHER
HAND, A PURELY EXPEDIENT POLICY WILL LACK ALL ROOTS AND BECOME
THE PRISONER OF EVENTS. THE DIFFICULT CHOICES ARE NOT BETWEEN

PRINCIPLE AND EXPEDIENCY, BUT BETWEEN TWO OBJECTIVES BOTH OF WHICH ARE GOOD OR BETWEEN COURSES OF ACTION BOTH OF WHICH ARE DIFFICULT OR DANGEROUS. TO ACHIEVE A FRUITFUL BALANCE IS THE CENTRAL DILEMMA OF FOREIGN POLICY.

THE EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE BONDS IS COMPLICATED BY THE NEW CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS. THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES HAS EXPANDED BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL COMMITTEES. NEW PRINCIPLES OF PARTICIPATION AND ORGANIZATION ARE TAKING HOLD. THEREFORE, TRADITIONAL PROCEDURES -- FOCUSED AS THEY ARE ON THE LEADERSHIP AND THE COMMITTEES -- MAY NO LONGER PROVE ADEQUATE TO THE DESIRES OF AN INCREASINGLY INDIVIDUALISTIC MEMBERSHIP.

AS THE RANGE OF CONSULTATION EXPANDS, THE PROBLEM OF CONFIDENTIALITY INCREASES. CONFIDENTIALITY IN NEGOTIATIONS FACILITATES COMPROMISE; IT MUST NOT BE CONSIDERED BY THE CONGRESS AS A CLOAK OF DECEPTION; IT MUST NOT BE USED BY THE EXECUTIVE TO AVOID ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE CONGRESS.

SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE INHERENT IN THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES BY WHICH WE HAVE THRIVED. THE SEPARATION OF POWERS PRODUCES A HEALTHY AND CREATIVE TENSION BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. PARTNERSHIP SHOULD NOT SEEK TO MAKE EITHER BRANCH A RUBBER STAMP FOR THE OTHER. BUT IF OLD PATTERNS OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS ARE IN FLUX, NOW IS THE TIME FOR BOTH BRANCHES TO CONCERN TO FASHION NEW PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF COLLABORATION. THE ADMINISTRATION STANDS READY TO JOIN WITH THE CONGRESS IN DEVISING PROCEDURES APPROPRIATE TO THE NEED FOR A TRULY NATIONAL AND LONG-RANGE FOREIGN POLICY. WE WOULD WELCOME CONGRESSIONAL SUGGESTIONS THROUGH WHATEVER DEVICE THE CONGRESS MAY CHOOSE AND WILL DO OUR UTMOST TO ACCOMMODATE THEM.

IN THE MEANTIME, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL STRIVE TO ACHIEVE A NATIONAL CONSENSUS THROUGH CLOSE CONSULTATION, THE NON-PARTISAN CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY AND RESTRAINT IN THE EXERCISE OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 LOS AN 00001 04 OF 04 240804Z

THE PROBLEM IS DIFFICULT BUT WE WILL SOLVE IT AND THEREBY ENHANCE THE VITALITY OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE PURPOSEFULNESS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WORKING TOGETHER, WE WILL FASHION POLICIES WHICH WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BECAUSE THEY ADVANCE THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND THE INTERESTS OF ALL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO STRIVE FOR FREEDOM AND A BETTER LIFE.

CONCLUSION

IN 1947 WHEN ANOTHER MOMENT OF CRISIS SUMMONED US TO CONSENSUS AND CREATION, A MEMBER OF THE SENATE RECALLED LINCOLN'S WORDS TO THE CONGRESS: "THE DOGMAS OF THE QUIET PAST ARE

INADEQUATE TO THE STORMY PRESENT. THE OCCASION IS PILED HIGH WITH DIFFICULTY, AND WE MUST RISE WITH THE OCCASION. AS OUR CASE IS NEW, SO WE MUST THINK ANEW, AND ACT ANEW. WE MUST DISENTHRALL OURSELVES, AND THEN WE SHALL SAVE OUR COUNTRY."

WE HAVE LEARNED MORE THAN ONCE THAT THIS CENTURY DEMANDS MUCH OF AMERICA. AND NOW WE ARE CHALLENGED ONCE AGAIN, "TO THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW" SO THAT WE MAY HELP OURSELVES AND THE WORLD FIND THE WAY TO A TIME OF HOPE. LET US RESOLVE TO MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER TRANSFORMING CHALLENGE INTO OPPORTUNITY AND OPPORTUNITY INTO ACHIEVEMENT.

NO GENUINE DEMOCRACY CAN OR SHOULD OBTAIN TOTAL UNANIMITY. BUT WE CAN STRIVE FOR A CONSENSUS ABOUT OUR NATIONAL GOALS AND CHART A COMMON COURSE. IF WE ACT WITH LARGE SPIRIT, HISTORY COULD RECORD THIS AS A TIME OF GREAT CREATIVITY AND THE LAST QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY COULD BE REMEMBERED AS THAT PERIOD WHEN MANKIND FASHIONED THE FIRST TRULY GLOBAL COMMUNITY. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LOSAN00001
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750031-0926
From: LOS ANGELES
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750189/baaaatl.tl
Line Count: 778
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 15
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: buchant0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 JAN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 JAN 2003 by daviscw>; APPROVED <05 JAN 2004 by buchant0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: STATE FLASH
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006